

THE CRISIS.

Devoted to the Support of the Democratic Principles of Jefferson.

"Union, harmony, self-denial, concession---everything for the Cause, nothing for Men."

No. 25.

RICHMOND, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1840.

VOL. I.

TERMS.

THE CRISIS will be printed in quarto form, on a medium sheet, with new type. The price \$1—and no paper will be sent to any person, without payment in advance, postage paid. As nothing short of a very large and effective subscription can justify the continuation of the paper, the above terms will be strictly adhered to. We mean to make no debts at all. We abjure all credit in this establishment, and insist upon the Cash System.

POLITICS.

HANOVER DISTRICT CONVENTION.

On Thursday, the 6th inst., delegates from the counties of Henrico, Charles City, Hanover, City of Richmond, and county of New Kent, composing the Eleventh Electoral District, met in Convention, at the Junction House, in the county of Hanover.

Col. Charles P. Goodall of Hanover, was called to preside over its deliberations; assisted by Mr. James Basher of the City of Richmond, and Col. James M. Selden of the county of Henrico, as Vice Presidents.

Charles Ellis, jr., was appointed Secretary, and Richard B. Gooch, Assistant Secretary.

The names of the delegates having been read over, a committee of seven was appointed to prepare an Address to the Citizens of Virginia, and to offer for the consideration of the Convention, such other action, as they might deem proper. And a committee was appointed, consisting of the following gentlemen:

Messrs. Thomas Ritchie, Col. Wm. L. White, Philip Mayo, Henry L. Hopkins, John D. G. Brown, Col. B. B. Barker, and Col. Edwin Shelton.

During the absence of the committee, the Convention was ably and eloquently addressed by Mr. Thomas Jefferson Randolph, and Gen. Wm. F. Gordon, of Albemarle.

The committee then reported the following Address and Resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

ADDRESS.

Fellow-Citizens:—It is the boast of the Democratic Party to declare openly the principles, by which they are actuated and guided. They have ever fearlessly avowed their sentiments; they sustain them by reason, and trust to the mighty power of truth to work its slow but certain progress to the understandings of a free and an enlightened people. They never appeal to their passions nor prejudices, and scorn to mislead and deceive them by pleasing their appetites, in order to blind their judgments. They are satisfied, that the people are capable of self-government. They know, that the mass of their fellow-citizens are upright and patriotic; that they have the welfare of their country at heart, and guard with a jealous eye the palladium of their liberties. They know, that the honest yeomen of Virginia are not the vain-glorious demagogues, who would madly pull down the beautiful fabric which their fathers erected, to riot among its ruins; but they are the stern, unwavering advocates of stability and order, the ardent and consistent admirers of virtue and wisdom, and never fail to rally to the standard of truth in her mortal combats with error. The Democracy bow to the majesty of the people. It is one of their cardinal maxims, that the people are neither to be long duped by sophistry, dazzled by wealth, seduced by the mummery of log cabins and hard cider, nor terrified by the gleam of brandished sabres. They may err for a moment, but their "second sober thought" always corrects false impressions, and sets the sovereign machine right.

Believing, therefore, that our fellow-citizens have the intelligence to discern, the honesty to adopt, and the firmness to adhere to correct principles, we fearlessly and independently declare our political creed, and the creed of those whom we support, and we ask for them only a calm and deliberate consideration. If they be novel; if they be anti-Republican; if they are not such as Virginia has been proud to exhibit as her brightest jewels in the best of her days, we ask you to reject them; but if they be the legacies which our fathers have bequeathed to us; if they are revered for their antiquity, honored for their utility, and are still brilliant in their native simplicity, we implore you to take them to your bosoms, and consider them as your ornaments and your talisman, to be worn in sunshine and in storm. If the men we support subscribe to these principles; if they have sworn to them their unalterable allegiance; if they have buckled on their armour in their defence; if they have stood upon the ramparts in darkness and in gloom, and challenged every adversary; if they have exposed, encountered and vanquished those who would destroy your glorious institutions, have we not a right to demand your support; to ask you to cheer them with your smiles, encourage them with applause, distinguish them with honors, and be-

stow upon them through life your undeviating confidence? Not so, if they be the drones of the community, who fatten on its corruption. If they be hypocrites who fawn and flatter, while they attempt to decoy and deceive; if they know the right, and yet the wrong pursue, profess the true faith, yet practise the false; if they assume the garb of humility, while their hopes are feasted on palaces and grandeur; if, when entrusted with power, they abused it; if their true creed, when exposed to the light, be attended by disorder, anarchy and ruin; from such men turn with disgust. Tell them, that "falsehood's trade shall be as hateful and unprofitable as that of truth is now." Spurn them from your presence and your favor forever.

The foundation of our whole political creed, is, that the People are invested with the supreme power. We believe, that they are capable of self-government—that magistrates are their servants—that the right of instruction is inherent in a representative government—that the right to know the political opinions of public men, springs necessarily from the trust which they seek, and from the right of the sovereign people to instruct—that the Constitution is the paramount law—that it is strictly limited by the very character of the compact—and that every power not expressly granted, is reserved to the granting power, and to be used as they may delegate.

We adopt, in a word, the expositions of constitutional law, which are made in Madison's report, as the creed of our political faith—as the text book of Virginia Democracy—as the Shibboleth of every Republican in the Union. We hold sacred the liberty of thought, and of speech—we would permit the free-born spirits to burst "the chains of earth's immurement," and contend against abuse and usurpation. We believe in the right of the majority to govern, and that reason and not the sword, is the sceptre which should obtain dominion over us and our posterity. We believe that no man or set of men, are entitled to exclusive privileges—and that when they obtain them, it is in violation of rights which pertain to the people. We would limit Executive power—restrain Judicial usurpation—set bounds for Legislative action—and confine each to its separate and distinct sphere.

We would render the Legislature responsible for the passage of improper laws—the Executive accountable for their improper execution—and the Judiciary responsible for erroneous interpretations and constructions.—If either interfered with the other, we would denounce and expose them—we would render unto Cæsar, the things that are Cæsar's!

We hold finally, "that no free government or the blessing of liberty can be preserved to any people, but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles."

Holding these doctrines, we are necessarily opposed to "the dangerous principles introduced into the administration of our Government soon after the adoption of the Constitution—principles, which led to acts of fearful usurpation, and threatened speedily to destroy as well the rights of the States as the liberties of the People." We are opposed to all those unconstitutional measures which have sprung up in more modern times under the same auspices, whereby the Constitution is made to signify any thing and every thing that expediency and "the general welfare" may be imagined to require. We have warred against them and successfully resisted them. "The Sampson of Democracy burst the cords which were already bound around its limbs, and in the election of Mr. Jefferson vindicated its principles, its firmness and its power. A web more artfully contrived, composed of a high protective Tariff, a system of Internal Improvements and a National Bank, was then twined around the sleeping giant in the vain hope of subjecting him forever to the dominion and will of the ambitious and grasping few; and you have seen how he has scattered the whole to the winds, when roused by the warning voice of the honest and intrepid Jackson. Again in the triumph of the Independent Treasury we witness the triumph of the popular intelligence and firmness over the arts, arguments, appliances and alarms of the interested few who desire to enrich themselves by the use of the public money—another and most gratifying evidence that the People, when aroused, are competent to maintain any just principle, and correct any abuse, however sanctioned by precedent or sustained by wealth."—These are the opinions of Democrats—this the language

* Mr. Van Buren's Reply to the Committee of Kentucky, July 4, 1840.

of Martin Van Buren, summed up with a bold, graphic and master hand; and if you sustain him, it will be a still more "signal and withering rebuke" to all who endeavor to mislead or intimidate the People.

We are opposed to the squandering of the public money upon magnificent schemes tending to corrupt and demoralize the people.—We are opposed to distributions of surplus revenues—because we would collect no more money, than is essential to the wants of the Government economically administered.—We are opposed to any interference by the Federal Government with the legitimate spheres of the State Governments.—We believe the latter are the proper functionaries to exercise powers not granted in the Constitution, and the safe repositories of the interests of the people—because more immediately under their scrutinizing eye, and directly responsible to them. We are opposed to the wicked and intermeddling fanaticism, that prowls in darkness and stalks in the noon day sun, endeavoring to attract from the darkened bosom of the cloud they have engendered, the tornado's fury to upturn our beautiful fabric and violate our firesides and altars.—We are opposed to those, who countenance or hold communion with them—who would appease their favor by silence or fawning—and who will not openly denounce them and their cause and hurl against them the lightning of reason. We are nobly battling for constitutional law and the rights of the people.

We show our opponents the principles which we advocate from the house-tops.—We tell them, that we support only such public men as coincide with us in sentiment—and such measures as correspond with our principles. If they approve, we ask them for their aid. If they disapprove, we implore them to tell us their doctrines and give us their creed, that we may judge whether they be better than ours; if they be so, we pledge ourselves to their support. But we cannot lend them a blind confidence, which may lead to difficulties and errors from which wisdom may never extricate us. We are not to be swayed from decorum and decency by the undignified exhibitions of depraved imaginations. We are not to be swerved from justice by catering to our appetites. We are not to be turned aside from principle by the honied phrase of a well-turned period, nor the dulcet notes of a well-tuned voice. We might rush into battle against a tyrant's hirelings with songs and with shouts to terrify the miscreant, who would assail our liberties—but we never attempt to reason with freemen by songs nor to frighten Virginians with shouts. They are accustomed calmly to listen to thunder, and while they acknowledge their awe for their Maker, they laugh the mock thunder of man to scorn. But as our opponents denounce us and our candidate, and refuse to give us their principles, we have a right to believe that they are opposed to our views and our doctrines. We have a right to believe, that they would sustain the measures of the old Federal party, whose opinions and measures were diametrically opposed to us and to those of our fathers. We have a right to believe, that their candidate coincides with them, and that this government must and will be administered as their leaders desire, if it be entrusted to their hands. It is not our desire to detract from nor to despoil the escutcheon of the fame of their military chieftain. We would not tear a laurel from his brow. If he has fairly won them as a warrior, his fame is the fame of his country, and we will not aim a blow at the one while we strike the other. If he be entitled to the triumphs which his partisans claim for him, let him enjoy them. If he be virtuous, let him be praised for his virtue. If he be charitable, he will receive the blessings of an approving conscience, as well as the benedictions of honest hearts; but if his principles for administering this Government be erroneous, we will commend him to a quiet dwelling, to repose in the lap of peace.

And who does not know, that Gen. Harrison's opinions are erroneous? That they are diametrically opposed to the principles of Virginia? Opposed throughout, in theory and in practice. He was a Federalist in the days of John Adams—He was a Federalist in the days of the younger Adams—He was a Federalist in 1830, according to the latitudinous school of Daniel Webster—He is a Federalist still. The whole course of his votes, whilst he was a member of Congress, the whole current of his opinions afterwards, shows him to be a loose constructionist of the Constitution, an ultra Tariff man, ultra Internal Improvement, an ultra Distributionist, a National Emancipationist with the consent of a single slaveholding State; and now perfectly

willing to signalize his Administration by signing a National Bank Bill. His leading friends are of that dangerous School. Messrs. Webster and Clay are destined to be his right and his left hands. The old Federal party and their legitimate descendants constitute his most active and determined supporters. His associations alone would show him to be a Federalist of the Olden School; and the force of circumstances, which none but a great man and a vigorous statesman is able to control, will throw him into their arms. In addition to these considerations, we are to rank amongst his supporters, the great body of the Abolitionists, to whom he is principally indebted for his nomination at Harrisburg; and to whose votes in Ohio and New York he will owe any chance he may have of being elected. In this event, the force of circumstances will make him also a more pliant instrument in their hands, for bringing this fell spirit to bear upon our Southern rights and established institutions. Is this gentleman the candidate who suits our meridian, and will carry out the great Constitutional principles of Virginia? In vain, he is now attempting to wear a political mask. In vain, he seeks to disguise his opinions, for fear of offending some portion or other of his heterogeneous supporters. In vain, he declares that he will make no further confessions to friends or foes. The opinions he has formerly expressed, the votes he has given, stamp him with all the attributes of a Federalist. Is this the man, therefore, that you will prefer to administer the important Executive functions of your Government?—Or, are we to be reconciled to the Veiled Prophet, by the disgraceful means which his followers adopt, for raising up his altar? Their devices and their humbug—their humbug Standing Army—their absurd romance about the Census and a Direct Tax—their lofty tumblings and arrogant braggadocias—their most ridiculous mannerisms of Log Cabins and potations of Hard Cider—their adoption and publication of Ogle's speech; sicken every sense, disgust every man of understanding, and cast contempt itself upon the intelligence of the People.—On the one hand, therefore, you have Gen. Harrison and his supporters.—On the other hand, is Martin Van Buren, always a Republican in his creed; always avowed in his opinions; the Northern man with Southern feelings; pledged in the most solemn manner to veto any bill, which may touch the subject of Slavery, or may re-charter a National Bank. Friends of the Constitution—State Rights Republicans—Virginians! which will you prefer?

We ask you, then, fellow-citizens, as Virginians, what will you do? Will you stand by the Constitution? Will you permit it to be torn sentence by sentence, leaf by leaf, and scattered to the winds? Will you give those the power, who have the heart to do the deed? You will come up in your majesty, with the calm, determined air and mien of freemen, prepared for a mighty conflict. You will come as those "who lead invincibly a life of resolute good," with a gallant and dignified bearing. You will scrutinize with a practised eye the fortifications of your adversaries.—You will easily detect the weak points in their entrenchments.—You will brighten up the trusty blades that your fathers threw across their stalwart shoulders.—You will rush upon the ramparts and plant the standard of Democracy by the side of the Constitution.—There will be no tracks of blood even to the forest depths, no scattered arms nor lifeless warriors, whose hard lineaments Death's self could change not.—There will be no dreadful path of the out-sallying victors—but it will be the all-powerful and all-conquering dominion of reason—the peaceful recognition of the rights and the will of the majority, and the submission to the majesty of public opinion.

Ten thousand copies of the Address and Resolutions, were ordered to be printed—and the following gentlemen were appointed a committee to superintend their publication, and to procure subscriptions for that purpose: Messrs. S. D. Denoon, John Womble and Washington Greenhow, from the City of Richmond.—Col. R. B. Barker, Messrs. John P. White and Philip Mayo, from the county of Henrico.—Col. Edwin Shelton, Messrs. Thomas M. White and Nicholas Terrell, from the county of Hanover.—Messrs. William Ratcliffe, John S. Lacy and Dr. Wm. Selden, from the counties of New Kent and Charles City.

It was further Resolved, That when this Convention adjourns, it will adjourn to meet at Fairfield, in the county of Henrico, on the 23rd day of September next.

On motion, the Convention then adjourned, to meet at Fairfield, on the day above named.

CHARLES P. GOODALL, President.

CHARLES ELLIS, Jr., Secretary.

RICHARD B. GOOCH, Assistant Secretary.

The Bank minions are continually pouring out the phials of their wrath on the late and present Administrations, for the want of a National Bank. They do this whilst they know that the currency was far more degraded, at several periods during the existence of the late Bank, than even at the present time. The subjoined, taken from the National Intelligencer, will show what was the condition of things in 1818:

(From the National Intelligencer, Sept. 4, 1818.)
"The currency is in confusion—RUIN and bankruptcy meet us upon every hand. The domestic exchanges were never worse, and scarcely ever can be. The Southern bills are almost worthless at the North, and the West is in nearly as bad a situation. What can be done we know not. The United States Bank can afford no relief, if even it shall be able to stand itself."

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF N. CAROLINA. (Concluded.)

By the 13th section, if one of these servants, (and let it be remembered that honest persons, if poor, may be made servants, and for an indefinite time, in the opinion of the court,) if they cannot pay these fines and costs, shall be found 10 miles from the tenement of his master without a pass, he may be carried before a justice, and be "by his order punished with stripes, not exceeding 35, at his discretion."

By the 14th section, if he goes to the dwelling house or plantation of any person whatever, without leave from his owner, "it shall be lawful for the owner of such plantation or dwelling house," (we presume even if such owner be a free negro, unless some other law restricting these general expressions be found,) "to give or order such slave or servant 10 lashes on his or her bare back."

The 11th section enacts, that "in all cases of penal laws, where free persons are punishable by fine, servants shall be punished by whipping, after the rate of 20 lashes for every 8 dollars."

Our colleagues are welcome to all the proofs they can gather from these provisions, of Gen. Harrison's humanity and kindness to the poor. We think the condition of those servants will be considered bad enough, under such a system of laws, although they were not liable to be sold to free negroes.

The 10th section of this law deserves a remark: this punishes the persons who "shall buy, sell, or receive of, to, or from, any servant, any coin or commodity whatsoever, without the leave or consent of the master or owner of such servant; and if any person shall presume to deal with any servant, without such leave or consent, he or she so offending, shall forfeit and pay to the master or owner of such servant four times the value of the thing so bought, sold or received, &c., and shall also forfeit and pay the further sum of twenty dollars to any person who will sue for the same, or receive on his or her bare back 39 lashes, well laid on, at the public whipping post; but shall nevertheless be liable to pay the cost of said suit."

Here, then, is another law of Gen. Harrison's, and we thank our colleagues for referring us to it, which affords another sample of his commiseration for the poor, and shows his sympathies are with the rich.

Let any man or woman "presume to deal," however ignorantly, with one of the white servants of these lordlings, who buy their white fellow-citizens, when too poor to pay fine and fees; and if he or she presumes, without the master's leave, to be to pay fourfold to the master, and forfeit \$20 to the informer; and if too poor to pay it, are to receive at the public whipping post 39 lashes on his or her bare back, well laid on; and then they are further to be liable to pay the cost of such suit.

We should like to know, if our colleagues think this "a law that no honest man need complain of," and if they can find a law of North Carolina any thing like this. So much for these Indiana laws. We have been particular on this topic, because we wished to justify ourselves from a charge most wantonly brought against us, and to make good our retort of it upon our censors. We need not touch upon the other accusations against us, after this exposition, at much length.

As to the Ohio law, it speaks for itself. It is of the same character, and breathes throughout the same spirit—sympathy for the rich, severity for the poor—for the one, the 17th section of this law, before quoted, provides impunity, to be purchased by their money—for the other, public sale upon ten days' notice, and delivery to a master.

Will it be pretended, that this law also was intended for horse thieves, and other infamous criminals, specified by our colleagues, and not for assaults and minor offences? This cannot be, for the Ohio laws punish all these infamous crimes enumerated in this publication, not with fines and costs, but with confinement in the penitentiary. And these laws punish assaults, destroying fruit trees, and other lesser offences, by imprisoning, fines and costs. So that this law manifestly applies to these latter offences only. The sale it authorizes is of "any person" in prison or under execution "for the non-payment of a fine, or costs," or both. Costs are clerks', sheriffs', and lawyers' fees. For these, therefore—for these fees the man may be sold. When it was under consideration, it was discussed Gen. Harrison was aware, when he voted for it, of the objections to it. It was alleged to be applicable to cases of assault; it was shown by Gov. Lucas, then in the Senate, how it might apply to an old Revolutionary soldier, who, upon sudden provocation, might commit an assault, for which he might be sold, and a free negro might buy him.—Gen. Harrison denied none of this, but voted for retaining the section; and all this was true—for, it is not pretended that there was any other law of Ohio, prohibiting free negroes from purchasing at such sales. So

that, under this section, if Gen. Harrison could have carried it, an honest good neighbor white man might undoubtedly have been sold, as we asserted, and a free negro might have bought him.

Where, then, is the misrepresentation as to this law? With us or our colleagues? They say, "a poor man could not suffer by this law." We say he could. They allege we have not published the 37th section of another act to which this section refers. This is true; and why should we? for it does not affect the charge. We could not have meant to conceal it; for we published the passage in the journal referring to this 37th section, and were not aware that any ingenuity could make any thing out of it, in the shape of an excuse for this vote of Gen. Harrison. And now, that our colleagues have published it, how do they pretend that it affects the section for which Gen. Harrison voted? It provides, that when it is made to appear to the satisfaction of the county commissioners, that a person imprisoned for a fine and costs cannot pay them, they may order his discharge. This only made it discretionary on the commissioners. They may discharge; but, although satisfied the man could not pay, they may not discharge; and the section we quoted, and for which General Harrison voted, only says, this discharge, under this 37th section, shall not be prevented by this act; still leaving it discretionary. They may discharge; and then adds these words: "if it shall be considered expedient to grant such discharge." Now, we are at a loss to see how this affects the section so as to excuse Gen. Harrison for voting for it. The man who does not pay his fine and fees, it shall be lawful for the sheriff to sell.—But the county commissioner, if satisfied that he cannot pay, may discharge him, "if it shall be considered expedient." All we said was, that a man might be sold under this law, if unable to pay fine and fees; and is it not plain that he could be? It is true, the county commissioner, if satisfied of his inability, may discharge him, if it shall be considered expedient; but it is also true, that though satisfied of his inability, they may not consider it expedient, and may not discharge him.—And is this a proper subject—the sale of a free white citizen, whose inability to pay is found—to be left to a commissioner as a question of expediency? We should have thought no one could be found who would not say, that if the man was poor and could not pay, he ought to be discharged absolutely. But Gen. Harrison thought otherwise, and our colleagues think with him, that expediency is to determine whether he shall be discharged or sold. These gentlemen are for high doctrines and strong powers. The people are not to have their rights secured absolutely. Those who govern must have a discretionary authority to give or withhold their rights, as they may see fit. This will make the people submissive and obedient; the poor will be humble and submissive to the rich, and vote as they please when they are made to depend upon them. And rulers, and judges, and commissioners will be obeyed and respected, when they can order a man, who is proved to be poor, either to be discharged or sold, to be free or to have a master, as they may consider it expedient. We cannot believe, that our colleagues have done much good to their cause, or their candidate, or themselves, by referring you to this section, and claiming the right thus to dispose of their fellow-citizens as slaves, according to expediency. They have betrayed their principles; and the people will understand how they are to be governed, if the party which advocates this sort of legislation shall be trusted with the power they are seeking. It is on this account, that the exposition of this subject becomes interesting and important. We shall therefore follow it a little further, and take some notice of the letter of Gen. Harrison himself on this subject, which the publication of our colleagues quotes with commendation: and shall justify, from this letter alone, all we have said of these laws and of the principles of those who advocate them.

In the first place, we see the same unfair effort to evade this charge, and to misrepresent the effect and intention of the act. He says, it was not intended to be applied to unfortunate debtors, "but to infamous offenders;" and he gives a detail of amendments to the penitentiary law, changing the punishment for thefts under fifty dollars, "as if these were the infamous offenders for whom this law was intended." We have already exposed this. It is untrue, that the law was intended "for infamous offenders." Persons convicted of assaults and other similar transgressions, are not infamous; and Gen. Harrison knew the law applied to them. It was so shown in the debate on it, and Gen. Harrison did not deny it.

So the letter cavils at our colleagues do, about the terms used in this charge against him. It repels the accusation of his having voted for a law to sell white people for debt. He is quite indignant that he should be charged with such a thing. Strictly speaking, these fines and fees for which they might be sold, are perhaps not properly debts, though, as it is something which a man owes and is obliged to pay, it is pretty much the same thing as a debt, and may have been so spoken of without any substantial mistake. We, however, had not used this term. We did not speak of debts, but of

finer and fees. The letter admits, that to sell debtors, is "an abominable principle;" and that voting for such a law would deserve "the execration of every honest man in society." Now, we ask where is the difference between selling a man for debt, and selling him for a fine, and for clerks' and lawyers' fees? If the first is "an abominable principle," what is the other? So that it comes to this; we charge and prove that Gen. Harrison voted for a law to sell poor white people for fines and fees; and this letter is held up to show that he was not for selling them for debt; no, that would be "abominable." To which we need only say, that selling them for fines and fees was bad enough. The General thinks otherwise, and proclaims himself a great lover of the people, the friend of the poor. He would not sell the poor creatures for debt. He loves them too well for that; but, when they have to pay fines and fees for an assault, then they may be struck off to the highest bidder. He does not love them well enough to object to that. This letter seems to consider it quite a trifle to be sold at auction and have a master; and that the people ought to think nothing of being thus exposed, and disposed of. See what soft words he gives to the proceeding; it is only to "be transferred to the comfortable mansion of some virtuous citizen," and they ought to be glad of it.

See, ye poor white men and women! what love General Harrison and his supporters have for you! what kind provision they are willing to make for your comfort! It is true, you may be sold at auction; but what of that! It will be to a virtuous citizen; for the sale is to the highest bidder, and the rich will buy and they of course are virtuous citizens. Then you will be delivered over to your master, (the law does not say you shall be tied,) and he will take you to a comfortable mansion, not a log cabin, and his admonitions will check your vicious propensities.

This is the way Gen. Harrison thinks and feels about the sale of a free citizen; and our colleagues concur with him, and think no honest man need complain of it.

Fellow-citizens, does not such language betray the true principles of the men who are seeking to conciliate your favor? It shows how they undervalue your intelligence as men, and your feelings as freemen. They know nothing of you. They know nothing of the high spirit with which the honest laborer goes forth to his daily toil, returns to his rude fare and humble home, and rejoices in the proud consciousness that what he sees around him is his own, and that there is "none to make him afraid."

We leave, then, these laws and their defenders to your indignation; and now, a few words as to other misrepresentations. We have called Gen. Harrison a Bank-Federal-Abolition candidate. Is this slander or the truth? We called him a Bank candidate. Has he declared himself against chartering a United States Bank, as Mr. Van Buren has? Are not all the Bank men for him? Did not they join in his nomination?—Are not the two parties at issue on this question, and Van Buren and Harrison the opposing candidates? One of our accusers has but lately made a speech in his place, declaring himself in favor of such a Bank, and we ask our colleagues if they can name a Bank man in Congress that is not for Harrison?

We called him, also, the Federal candidate. Is this slander? Our colleagues say they will, "at any time, compare notes" on this subject. If they mean by this that they can show as many Federalists on our side as on theirs, we think they are grossly mistaken. We believe the Federalists very generally support him.

They say they "can prove hundreds of Federalists on our side." This may possibly be so; but it is certain, and requires no proof, that there are thousands on theirs.—And he is not only supported by the Federalists, but a Federalist himself; so pronounced by Andrew Jackson and Jno. Randolph.

The laws we have been examining certainly show strong symptoms of that disease; and there are many facts which we should suppose would put his Federalism beyond question.

Take his Speech in favor of the standing army of the elder Adams. Our colleagues may find it in the Aurora of the 5th February, 1800. They know that this was a test question between the Federal and Democratic parties of that day. He spoke in favor of this leading Federal measure—in support of this measure of the Federal administration of John Adams. His speech was on the 9th of January, 1800. On the 12th of May following, John Adams, (we presume he was a Federalist,) appointed him Governor of Indiana. Here, then, is a man supporting Federal measures and receiving an appointment from a Federal Administration. It is true he was afterwards re-appointed by Jefferson and by Madison to the same office; but this does not show that he was not a Federalist even then. And again we find him in favor when John Quincy Adams came into office, and he received an appointment from him, from which General Jackson thought proper to recall him, greatly to the displeasure of the Federalists. And finally, we presume you all have seen, certainly our colleagues have, the debate in the Senate in which John Randolph charges him with this sin. We have

read that debate, and we think no unprejudiced man can read it, without saying (even if there was no other proof in the case) that we have not slandered him by calling him the Federal candidate.

And lastly, we have called him the Abolition candidate; and we beg you to remark what our colleagues have said as to this:

"Nothing is more susceptible of proof than the fact, that the Abolitionists have nominated candidates of their own, and that they are opposing Harrison, shoulder to shoulder, with the Van Buren party."

Here is an assertion, that the Abolitionists are opposing Harrison, shoulder to shoulder, with the Van Buren party. Any thing equal in boldness, in the way of assertion, to this, we have never seen, either from Abolitionists or Federal Whigs. Well might we retort upon our accusers, "O! Shame, where is thy blush? O! Conscience, where was thy voice?" Do our colleagues really believe that the Abolitionists are opposing Harrison—are united "with the Van Buren party?" Do they imagine, that you can be made to believe this in the face of all that you daily see and hear? We presume the course of a party can be seen in its newspapers and publications; and did not all the Abolition papers raise a shout of triumph, and the Emancipator "praise God for a great anti-slavery victory," when Harrison was nominated? Do not our colleagues know this?—and do they not see around them in Congress, avowed and zealous Abolitionists—hear the speeches in which they proclaim their principles, and are they not all as zealous for Harrison as for Abolition?

Do they suppose, that you do not read the speeches and mark the movements of these men? Have we not had openly published the Address of the "Executive Committee, appointed by the Opposition members of Congress"? Are there not the names of J. C. Clark, Truman Smith and Leverett Saltonstall, all open Abolitionists, united with Southern Whigs to this paper? Are they not "shoulder to shoulder" with these leading Southern members of Congress opposing Van Buren in supporting Harrison?

No man can be blind to the fact, that the main hope of the Federal Whigs, in sustaining their candidate, is the Abolition support. Let them renounce the help of these associates, and their cause is desperate. We see the game now playing by Gen. Harrison and his friends. Letters are written which are to be read and shown to the South, referring to speeches of Gen. H., in which he is said to have condemned the Abolition movements; but they must not get into the newspapers, for that would expose him to the North. And letters are written to the North, referring to his certificate of membership in an Abolition society, published by Gen. H. himself in 1822, accompanied with the declaration, that he has been true to the principles he then assumed; and these, too, are to be shown to the Abolitionists, and kept out of the newspapers, that they may not be seen at the South. And it is seriously thought, that, with all this before you, you can be weak enough to be cheated by these shallow artifices and confident assertions. It is true, the Abolitionists may have nominated a candidate of their own. But who believes that they are such fools as to throw away their votes upon him, avowing, as they do, the most thorough and determined hostility to Van Buren, who has exhibited but one face on this subject to both North and South, defying the Abolitionists.

With all these things before them, our colleagues assert that the Abolitionists are united with the Van Buren party and opposing Harrison.

Surely we need not fear the charges of misrepresentation brought against us by men who can say this.

There remains, we believe, but one other accusation against us. It is, that we have charged Gen. H. with refusing to be seen or to speak to the people. Our colleagues affect to understand us generally, as asserting that Gen. H. could not be seen and would not speak to any person on any subject. They show how he goes about making speeches—that he, therefore, must be seen, and does speak to many people. It is ridiculous to suppose we intended to be so understood. They knew well what we meant, and they could neither deny nor defend it. Taking all we said on this subject together, it plainly refers to the people who desire to see or speak to General Harrison, in order to know his opinions, which, he says "he is determined not to give either to friend or foe." When we say "he refuses to be seen or spoken to," we plainly mean for this purpose, on this subject. We did not mean that he shut himself up from view and refused to be spoken to on any subject. Nobody could fairly so understand us. May not a man be said to deny access to his fellow-citizens, either approaching him by writing or in person, in order to learn his opinions, if he declares that he will not answer them, as Gen. Harrison admits he has done? Is not such a declaration, such an avowed refusal to answer, a refusal to be seen or spoken to for that purpose? This is all we meant; and this our colleagues are bound to defend in their candidate; and this he has himself made it impossible for them or any body else to do, as in 1822 he publicly declared that candidates before the people are bound to answer all reasonable inquiries. His letter to that effect has been published. And now it is to be seen whe-

ther, in a Government like ours, any man can stand before the people, a candidate for their suffrages, and refuse to state his political opinions, and the principles by which he will govern his official conduct. We think it is an insult to the understandings of a free people for any man to ask their confidence under such circumstances.

We have now, we think, most clearly shown that our colleagues are guilty of all they have charged upon us, and that we have stated nothing but what is true as to Gen. Harrison in the Indiana law, and also as to his vote in Ohio, 14 years afterwards, carrying out the same principle; and we see, that the Whig leaders in our State have admitted that our copy of these selling laws, was sanctioned by Harrison—the application of which to white men and women for fine and costs, is now proved and admitted true, and the Whigs are justifying them in their support of Harrison; for, he tells us his former opinions and principles are unchanged. We leave you to decide how far our colleagues have been right, who have volunteered to abuse us for daring to answer truly your requests of us, as your public servants. We say to them, that neither their impudent interference between you and us, nor their bold advocacy of Harrison and his cause, for selling poor white men and women for fines and costs, shall intimidate or deter us, in the slightest degree, from our duty to you, our constituents.

With great regard and esteem, yours,

W. MONTGOMERY,
M. T. HAWKINS.

Washington City, July 4, 1840.

[From the Albany Rough-Header.]
MR. VAN BUREN AND THE WAR.

Finding that the Legislative documents not only contradict all the calumnies uttered and published in regard to Mr. Van Buren's course during the war, but that they furnish truly "eloquent record" of his patriotic efforts during that eventful period—his opponents have put in circulation a false or forged resolution, in order to excite prejudice against him, in the minds of those Democrats, particularly in the Western States, who shared in the toils of that trying contest, and suffered by the "barbarities of the enemy."

In the month of February last, a letter was received from Ohio, stating that the following resolution was extensively circulated in the Federal papers in that State, accompanied with the assertion, that it was offered by Mr. Van Buren, at a meeting in Hudson, during the late war, viz:

"Resolved, That the war is impolitic and disastrous, and that to employ the militia in an offensive war, is unconstitutional."—And another:

"Resolved, That the present war is impolitic and disastrous, and ought not to be prosecuted further."

Both of these resolutions, however, so far as any agency in them is ascribed to Mr. Van Buren, are forged and fraudulent. Some of the leading Federal papers in this State, have given currency to these forgeries, and have too little regard for truth or the intelligence of their readers to do justice to either, when the error is made apparent to them. There are two Federal editors who are exempt from this censure, and who have denounced the shameless fabrication which still makes up a part of the stock in trade of great numbers of their political associates. The first of these is the editor of the New Yorker, who, in alluding to the resolution, says:

"We assure the editors of the Richmond Whig, Mobile Chronicle, &c., if they shall not have been already convinced of and corrected their error, that Mr. Van Buren never offered or supported any resolution of the kind. THE STORY IS A DOWNRIGHT FABRICATION."

How far the course of Mr. Van Buren in regard to the war was affected by his support of Mr. Clinton, will appear from the following summary of his conduct in the Legislature and out of it.—He was elected to the State Legislature in April, 1812. War was declared in the month of June ensuing, and he took his seat in the State Senate, for the first time, in November, 1812, being the same session at which the Presidential electors were appointed.

Upon the adoption of the new Constitution in 1821, the Governor, instead of a message, delivered a speech to the Legislature, at the opening of each session. An answer was made to this speech by each house, in which the views of the majority upon the prominent political questions of the day, were set forth, and thus made the subject of discussion, before any legislative measures in regard to them were matured. Committees were appointed to prepare the answer, a majority of whom would, it was supposed, be most able and willing to present faithfully the views of the majority of their respective houses, and the strongest man of the minority was usually selected to offer a substitute.—Although this was Mr. Van Buren's first appearance in any legislative body, he being, with perhaps a single exception, the youngest man that had, up to that time, been elected to the Senate, he was placed upon the committee, and prepared and reported the answer to the Governor's speech.

The other members of the committee were Mr. Wilkins and Judge Platt, the latter having been, at a preceding election, the Federal candidate for Governor against D. D. Tompkins. The answer agreed upon by Mr. Van Buren and Gen. Wilkins, and reported November 10, 1812, contained the following sentiments:

*"To his Excellency Daniel D. Tompkins,
Governor of the State of New York:*

"Sir: The Senate fully concur with your Excellency in the sentiment that, at a period like the present, when our country is engaged in war with one of the most powerful of the nations of Europe, difference of opinion on abstract points should not be suffered to impede or prevent a united and vigorous support of the constituted authority of the nation; and duly impressed with a conviction that in the breast of a real patriot all individual considerations and feelings should be absorbed in a paramount regard for his country's welfare, the Senate will cheerfully and firmly unite their exertions with those of the other departments of the Government, to apply the energies of the State to a vigorous prosecution of the war, until the necessity of its further continuance shall be superseded by an honorable peace, the only legitimate object of war.

"The different subjects submitted to the consideration of the Senate by your Excellency, shall receive their early and prompt attention; and believing, as they do, that respect for the memory of the soldier whose life is sacrificed in the service of his country, and to make provision for his destitute family, is the duty of all governments, and especially of a government like ours, in which, more than any other, the character of the patriot is united with that of the soldier; the situation of the families of the officers and soldiers of the militia of this State who have fallen or been disabled in the battle of Queenstown, shall receive the seasonable attention of the Senate, and be disposed of by them in such manner as shall, in their judgment, best comport with the honor and justice of the State."

Judge Platt offered a substitute for this address, in which he "solemnly deplored the unwise and improvident exercise of power which has thus, without preparation, and without necessity—plunged our country into a war with one of the most powerful nations of the world"—and that "the unqualified claim upon the State legislature, and upon our citizens, to 'subserve the National will,' by voluntary exertions and supplies, whether that will be wisely or unwisely directed, is a claim of questionable right, and equivocal import." This substitute was rejected by Mr. Van Buren and his political friends, 20 to 7. In proceeding upon the original draft of the address, Mr. Radcliff moved to insert after the word "war"—"in so far as the same shall be directed to the purposes of defence"—which was negatived by Mr. Van Buren and those who acted with him. After this, the original draft of the address was adopted, and Mr. Van Buren was appointed chairman of the committee to wait upon Governor Tompkins, to know when he would receive the Senate with their answer to his speech.

During the winter session of 1813, Mr. Van Buren was found, "breasting the torrent of opposition," and supporting with the zeal of a true patriot, every measure which had a tendency to strengthen the arm of the National Government, or to give security to the extended frontiers of his own State.

Justice can only be done to him in this respect, by a reference to the journals of the Senate; to set forth the various acts, in which he participated, would swell this article to too great length.—An attempt of the Federal house to convert the affairs of the navy into matter of political agitation, was signally rebuked in a Report from his pen.

Mr. Van Buren, in the same session, voted for a resolution authorizing the Comptroller to subscribe half a million of dollars to the sixteen million loan. This passed the Senate, 15 to 11, but was rejected in the Assembly, where the Federalists had a majority.

The close of the legislative session of 1813 was an important crisis in the affairs of our Republic. The New England States were entirely under the control of the opposers of the General Government and the war. They not only refused all aid to the National Government, in men and money, but a resolution was passed by Massachusetts, declaring that it was "unbecoming a moral and religious people to rejoice at the victories" achieved by our gallant countrymen.

The syren song of "peace, liberty and commerce," had been sounded in the ears of a people suffering under the pressure of war, so effectually as to produce a decided majority in the popular branch of the N. York legislature against the national administration and the war.

Such was the posture of affairs at the close of the session of 1813, and the election, which was to decide whether N. York would stand by the Government, or cast its weight into the scale of its opponents, was to take place in April. The eyes of the nation were upon her; and it is no exaggeration to say that every true friend of the integrity of the Union, felt the most intense anxiety for the re-election of that faithful patriot, Daniel D. Tompkins, as Governor of the State. We

might aptly say of this period, as Thomas Paine said in 1776, after the retreat of Washington through the Jerseys: "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman."

"Where do we find Mr. Van Buren in those days of gloom and apprehension?" Let the following extracts from the eloquent and patriotic address from the members of the Legislature to the Republicans of the State, answer. This was written by Mr. Van Buren, and is, of itself, a most triumphant vindication of his course from the aspersions cast upon him by his opponents.—And if his assailants were not dead to every feeling of honor and of patriotism, a perusal of these extracts would overwhelm them with shame and confusion:

Extracts from the Address of the Republican members of the Legislature, to their Constituents, March 9, 1813.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS—It is not to the arbitrary mandates of despotic power, that your submission is demanded; it is not to the seductive wiles and artful blandishments of the corrupt minions of aristocracy, that your attention is called, but to an expression and discussion of the wishes and feelings of your Representatives.

"You are invited to listen, with calmness and impartiality, to the sentiments and opinions of men who claim no right superior to yours—who claim no authority to address you save that of custom—who would scorn to obtain the coincidence of your opinion by force or stratagem, and who seek no influence with you, except that which arises from conscious rectitude, from a community of hopes and of fears, of rights and of interests."

"Fellow-citizens—Your country is at war, and Great Britain is her enemy. Indulge us in a brief examination of the causes which have led to it; and brief, as from the necessary limits of an address it must be, we yet hope it will be found sufficient to convince every honest man of the HIGH JUSTICE and INDISPENSABLE NECESSITY OF THE ATTITUDE WHICH OUR GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN; OF THE SACRED DUTY OF EVERY REAL AMERICAN TO SUPPORT IT IN THAT ATTITUDE, AND OF THE PARRICIDAL VIEWS OF THOSE WHO REFUSE TO DO SO."

[Here follows an eloquent summary of the causes which led to the war—of the preliminary efforts, the embargo, non-intercourse, &c., to induce the belligerent nations to do us justice, without a resort to that alternative, and of the series of aggressions on the part of Great Britain, which rendered it, in the language of the address, a measure of "high justice and indispensable necessity."]

"Fellow-citizens, throughout the whole period of the political struggle, which if they have not absolutely disgraced, have certainly not exalted, our character, no remark was more common—no expectation more cheerfully indulged in—than that those severe and malevolent intentions would only be sustained in time of peace; that when the country should be involved in war, every wish, every sentiment, would be exclusively American. But, unfortunately for our country, those reasonable expectations have not been realized, notwithstanding every one knows, that the power of declaring war, and the duty of supporting it, belong to the General Government; notwithstanding that the constitutional remedy for the removal of the men to whom this power is thus delegated, has recently been afforded; notwithstanding the re-election of the same President, by whom this war was commenced, and a majority of representatives, whose estimate of our rights, and whose views are similar to those who first declared it; men who, by the provisions of the Constitution, must retain their respective stations for a period of such duration as precludes a continued opposition of their measure without a complete destruction of our national interests—an opposition at once unceasing and malignant, is still continued to every measure of the Administration.

"Fellow-citizens: These things will not do. They are intrinsically wrong: *your country has engaged in a war in the last degree unavoidable*; it is not waged to the destruction of the rights of others; but in defence of our own; it is, therefore, your bounden duty to support her. You should lay down the character of *partisans*, and become *patriots*; for, in every country, 'war becomes an occasional duty, though it ought never to be made an occupation. Every man should become a soldier in defence of his rights; no man ought to continue a soldier for offending the rights of others.' In despite of truths so self-evident, of incentives to a vigorous support of Government so pressing, we yet have to deplore the existence of a faction in the bosom of our land, whose perseverance and industry are exceeded only by their inveteracy; who seek through every avenue to mislead your judgment and to inflame your passions.

"Suffer yourselves not to be deceived by the pretence, that because Great Britain has been forced by her subjects to make a qualified repeal of her orders, our government ought to abandon her ground. That ground was taken to resist two great and crying grievances, the

destruction of our commerce and the impressment of our seamen. The latter is the most important, in proportion as we prefer the liberty and lives of our citizens to their property. Distrust, therefore, the man who could advise your Government at any time, and more especially at this time—when your brave sailors are exciting the admiration, and forcing the respect of an astonished world, when their deeds of heroic valor make old ocean smile at the humiliation of her ancient tyrant—at such a time, we say again, mark the man who would countenance Government in COMMUTING OUR SAILORS' RIGHTS FOR THE SAFETY OF OUR MERCHANTS' GOODS.

"Fellow-Citizens: Should these political wittings, who are not only ignorant themselves of the leading points of controversy in our disputes with the belligerents, but who are uniformly assailing you as men destitute at once of spirit and of judgment—should they point to the wars which agitate and have convulsed Europe, as arguments against the prosecution of that just and necessary one which has been forced upon us, we know that you will indignantly repel the unfounded suggestion. The wars of Europe are waged by monarchs, to gratify their individual malice, their individual caprice, and to satiate their lawless ambition. Ours is in defence of rights which must be defended, or our glory as a nation will be extinguished—the sun of our greatness will set forever. As well might it have been said during the Revolution, that war should not be waged, because war has desolated Europe.—*The same rights you then fought to obtain, you must now fight to preserve—the contest is the same now as it was then—and the feelings which then agitated the public mind, which on the one hand supported, and on the other sought to destroy the liberties of the country, will be seen and felt in the conduct of the men of this day.*

"We are divided between the supporters and opposers of our Government. We have witnessed the distressing truth, that it is not in the power of circumstances to destroy the virulence of party spirit. The opposition offer for your support men who, whatever their private wishes may be, are devoted to the support of a party whose views and whose conduct we have attempted to delineate. In opposition to them, we respectfully solicit your support for the men whose nomination accompanies this address, one of whom [Daniel D. Tompkins] has for six years served you in the capacity which we now offer him; the other [John Taylor] has for many years served you in the most responsible situations. The notoriety of their merits supercedes the necessity of our eulogium—their lives and their best economy; they are the true friends of commerce; their views are, and their conduct will be, in unison with the measures of the General Government; they are the sincere friends of an honorable peace, the firm and energetic opposers of a base surrender of our rights.

"Fellow-Citizens—In the result of our elections during the continuance of this war, these important considerations are involved—the question of who is for HIS COUNTRY, OR AGAINST HIS COUNTRY, must now be tried—the eyes of Europe are directed towards us—the efficacy of your mild and wholesome form of Government is put to the test. To the polls, then, and by a united and vigorous support of the candidates we submit to you, discharge the great duty you owe to your country, preserve for your posterity the rich inheritance which has been left you by your ancestors—that future ages may triumphantly point to the course you pursued on this interesting occasion, as evidence that time had not as yet extinguished that spirit which actuated the heroes of Breedshill and of Yorktown; of those who fell at Camden, and of those who conquered on the plains of Saratoga."

This noble appeal was not made in vain. The patriot Tompkins was elected Governor, in April, 1813, by a majority of 3,500. The Assembly, however, continued in the hands of the Federalists, by a majority of eight members. This enabled them to control all the civil appointments, extending to sheriffs and clerks of counties, as well as justices of the peace. This power in the hands of those who were opposed to the war, together with the negative of the Assembly upon all laws designed to give energy to its prosecution, afforded the Opposition the means of greatly crippling the operations of Gov. Tompkins, and of thwarting all the salutary measures brought forward by a Republican Senate, and consequently of embarrassing the national administration.

In this state of things, Gov. Tompkins, with a devotion to his country which has few parallels, assumed a responsibility beyond the law; and, with the whole official power in active exercise against him, called out the resources of the State, and almost single-handed, protected our frontiers, saved the honor of the State, and shielded its character from the blighting influence of the Hartford Convention. The Senate alone, in which Mr. Van Buren, by his great talents and devoted patriotism, had been placed on commanding ground, remained faithful to Tompkins and to the country at this eventful crisis.

The legislative sessions of 1813 and 1814, were pe-

cularly trying. The measures of a patriotic character which were adopted in a Republican Senate, were defeated in a Federal Assembly.

"The difficulties under which the public service labored from the difference of opinion between the two branches of the New York Legislature, will be long remembered. They rendered the close of the session of 1814 a period of peculiar despondency. At the moment when this feeling bore its gloomiest aspect, a meeting of the members of the Legislature, and of citizens from different parts of the State, then at the Seat of Government, was called at the instance of Mr. Van Buren, to take into consideration the alarming state of the public affairs, preparatory to the approaching Spring election. It met at the Capitol on the 14th of April, 1814, and was addressed by Mr. Van Buren at great length, and, as was stated in the Gazette of the day, with great effect. At the conclusion of his address, he submitted the following resolution, which was adopted by acclamation:

"Resolved, That, while we congratulate our fellow-citizens on the happy revival of the feelings, sentiments and spirit of the revolution, which is every where manifesting itself, and our Republican brethren in particular on the heart-cheering zeal and unanimity which pervade their ranks, which promise the total overthrow of that anti-American spirit which, disguised under the specious garb of *Federalism*, has too long preyed upon the vitals of the nation, and which excite a lively hope that the councils of this great and powerful State will speedily be wholly rescued from the hands of those who have disgraced them, we warmly and earnestly conjure our Republican brethren, by the regard they have for their own rights; by the love they bear their country; and by the names of the departed worthies of the Revolution, to be up and doing, and so to act, that, at the termination of the contest each of them may triumphantly exclaim, 'I have fought a good fight—I have finished my course—I have kept the faith.'

This appeal, and the contemporaneous efforts of the Democracy of New York, were eminently successful. The Federal party was vanquished in the elections, and a majority in both branches of the Legislature secured to the friends of Madison and the war—an event, the intelligence of which was, in the language of a distinguished man, received at Washington with an exultation only inferior to that with which was received the news of the battle of New Orleans.

(From the National Intelligencer, of May 5, 1814.)

CHEERFUL PROSPECTS beam on the eye of the Republican and of every friend to the great and just contest in which we are engaged, on whatever side we look.

Meanwhile, at home, how glorious is the triumph of principle! How ascendant the virtue of the people! The election in the great and powerful State of New York, resulting in the complete success of the Republican party, has at once overthrown the prospects of disorganizers and the hopes of the Opposition. New York is with the Government, and its colossal power and influence will give vigor to its operations by coincidence of action, instead of lending its aid, as the Jacobins of the East vainly hoped and predicted it would, in a moral and physical effort to stop the wheels of Government, &c. If our enemies please it, we shall have an honorable peace—an event we should greet with heartfelt pleasure. But if our enemies persist in her wrongs, we shall have a vigorous war.—That the people will support the Government in it, is proved by the GLORIOUS RESULT OF THE NEW YORK ELECTION.

The disastrous events of the ensuing Summer—of which the burning of Washington city was a part—are too deeply engraven on the breasts and minds of our countrymen to need recital. In consequence of the new character which had been given to the war, and the exposed condition of the State, Gov. Tompkins convened an extra session of the Legislature, by proclamation, in the month of September, 1814. Never did a body of men assemble under circumstances of greater urgency. Seldom, if ever, was a higher responsibility imposed upon public men, than that which rested on the Republican majority of this Legislature. The session was opened by a highly patriotic and effective speech from Governor Tompkins. Mr. Van Buren was again placed on the committee to prepare the answer of the Senate. He prepared and reported an Address, which was adopted by the Senate, concluding as follows:

"The important interest which the State of New York has in the successful termination of the controversy in which we are involved, and the high destiny to which her local situation, the extent and variety of her resources, and the valor and patriotism of her citizens, aided by a just and liberal policy, may advance her, have been duly appreciated by your Excellency. The Senate cheerfully pledge their best exertions to realize those great and well founded expectations; and relying on the patriotism and good sense of the American people, they confidently trust that the rights and

interests of the nation will be maintained, and that, at no distant period, the mild reign of peace will be restored to our bleeding country."

During the special session, Mr. Van Buren matured, brought forward and defended in debate several war measures of the strongest character. Of these, the most prominent was an "Act to authorize the raising of troops for the defence of the State," which passed both Houses, and being approved by the Governor, became a law on the 24th of October, 1814. It authorized the Governor to place at the disposal of the General Government 12,000 men for two years, to be raised by suitable classifications of the militia of the State, but with such improvements in its details as to avoid many of the inequalities and other objectionable features of the former system of militia drafts. This law has been truly characterized by Col. Benton, in his late letter to the committee of the Mississippi Convention, "as the most energetic war measure ever adopted in this country." In the Legislature it encountered the most strenuous opposition, which was continued after the adjournment of this body, and until the restoration of peace. A copy of it was, very soon after its introduction, delivered to Mr. Monroe, then Secretary of War; and it would seem to have suggested to that gentleman some portion of a plan submitted by him to Congress, in his Report of the 15th October, 1814.

But if Gov. Tompkins had been defeated in his election, and the Federalists had retained their former majority in the Legislature, the State of New York might have joined the Eastern Federalists and become one of the "pillars of a new Federal edifice."

At page 123, before referred to, Mr. Niles says:—"The Legislature adjourned on the 24th of October, after passing several laws of great importance. Among them are, 'An act to raise 12,000 men, to be paid, clothed and subsisted by the United States.' The men are to be raised by an equal classification, and are intended as a permanent force to relieve the militia," &c.

Mr. Van Buren was the ardent supporter and eloquent advocate of all the war measures of this important session. Although comparatively a young man, and inexperienced as a legislator, yet he displayed the same traits of moral courage and fidelity to the vital interests of the country, which have so much distinguished his administration of the General Government.

The author of the "classification law" was denounced by the Hartford Convention Federalists, with all the harsh epithets which had been showered upon Mr. Madison and the members of Congress who supported the war. The law was stigmatized as an arbitrary measure, designed to organize an army of conscripts on the plan of Bonaparte, and appeals were made to the fears and prejudices of those on whom the classification was to operate.

On the 13th of February, 1815, Mr. Van Buren was appointed on the committee to report resolutions expressive of the sentiments of the legislature in relation to the battle of New Orleans.

The elevated standing which Mr. Van Buren had acquired by his able and faithful support of the war, induced the Republican party to appoint him, in 1815, Attorney-General of the State.

We have now traced Mr. Van Buren's career from his first entrance into the halls of our Legislature in 1812, through the whole period of the war, and up to the ratification of the treaty of peace. The extracts which have been given from the productions of his pen during that arduous struggle, will rekindle the grateful recollections of those friends of free principles, who witnessed these noble efforts of a great and patriotic mind. And the young, who have admired his honorable and brilliant career since that period, will find in these extracts the most triumphant evidence of his patriotism and love of country, so conspicuously exhibited in the second great struggle which "tried men's souls" and tested the soundness of their principles.

Every act of Mr. Van Buren, and every page of our Legislative journal, contradict the calumnies of the Opposition. They might with as much justice undertake to convince the people of New York that Daniel D. Tompkins was opposed to the war, as that Martin Van Buren was. They stood side by side in that fearful contest; and until the death of the former, they retained for each other that ardent attachment, which springs up between those who have mingled their exertions, their hopes and their fears, in trying times. And Mr. Van Buren remained long enough in the Senate to vindicate his patriotic friend against the assaults of his heartless enemies.

It is Mr. Van Buren's conduct during the war, that laid the foundation of the popularity he has ever since possessed, with the Democracy of New York. The reader will judge from the statement which we have given, whether there is a single public man, now on the stage of action, of whose useful and energetic civil career, during the war, so many and such favorable traces are to be found. And this occurred, not because there were not thousands equally ardent in the cause, but from the circumstance of Mr. Van

Buren's local position in respect to the principal theatre of action, and the station it was his good fortune to occupy in the political party at the North, on which the Government had to rely for support.

The unprecedented and reckless course of the Opposition, in continuing to circulate calumnies against Mr. Van Buren, even after some of their own editors have admitted that they are "DOWNRIGHT FABRICATIONS," has induced the Democratic State Central Committee to submit the foregoing statement to the public.

Albany, July 6, 1840.

A. C. FLAGG,
JOHN A. DIX,
E. CORNING,
P. CAGGER,

State Central Committee.

RICHMOND, Va., WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19.

"A wise and frugal Government which shall restrain men from injuring one another; shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement; and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government.—MR. JEFFERSON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

FEDERAL FALSEHOOD No. 8.

The Federalists charge, that Mr. Van Buren recognizes the Constitutional power of Congress over Internal Improvements. What are the facts? On the 22d of January, 1824, being then a member of the U. S. Senate, he called the attention of that body to the alarming assumption of power by Congress in regard to this subject. On the 16th of December, 1825, he offered two resolutions, one of which declared, "that Congress does not possess the power to make roads and canals within the respective States." On the 21st of April, 1826, he opposed the appropriation for the Louisville canal, and said:

"The aid of this Government can only be afforded to these objects of improvement, in three ways; by making a road or canal, and assuming jurisdiction; by making a road or canal, without assuming jurisdiction, leaving it to the States; or by making an appropriation without doing either. In his opinion, the General Government had no right to do either, and at some future time he should offer his reasons in support of this opinion.

"He would not vote for the bill, for he did not believe that this Government possessed the constitutional power to make these canals, or to grant money to make them.

But a single instance is relied on to sustain this charge in reference to which, in 1823, Mr. Van Buren made voluntary and manly acknowledgment of error:

Mr. Van Buren is by no means certain that in this respect, he himself has been altogether without fault. At the very first session after he came into the Senate, the knowledge of the perpetual drain that the Cumberland road was destined to prove upon the public treasury, unless some means were taken to prevent it, and a sincere desire to go at all times, as far as he could consistently with the Constitution, to aid in the improvement, and promote the prosperity of the Western country, had induced him without full examination, to vote for a provision, authorizing the collection of toll on this road. The affair of the Cumberland road, in respect to its reference to the constitutional powers of this Government, is a matter entirely *vis generis*. It was authorized during the administration of Mr. Jefferson, and grew out of the disposition of the territory of the U. States through which it passed. He has never heard an explanation of the subject, (although it has been a matter of constant reference,) that has been satisfactory to his mind. All that he can say is, that, if the question were again presented to him, he would vote against it; and that his regret for having done otherwise, would be greater, had not Mr. Monroe, much to his credit, put his veto upon the bill; and were it not the only vote in the course of a seven years' service, which the most fastidious critic can torture into an inconsistency with the principles which Mr. Van Buren professed to maintain, and in the justice of which he is every day more confirmed."

FEDERAL FALSEHOOD No. 9.

They charge, that Mr. Van Buren is in favor of a Protective Tariff. What are the facts? The Attorney-General of the U. S. states, that "Mr. Van Buren's personal feelings have been at all times adverse to the high Tariff policy." True, he voted for the Tariff of 1824, knowing his constituents to be in favor of that policy. To secure such a bill as would be acceptable to the manufacturers, it was determined a Convention should assemble at Harrisburg. To send Delegates to this Convention, a large meeting was held in Albany. Mr. Van Buren, then U. S. Senator, openly denounced the scheme as a "measure proceeding more from the closet of the politician, than from the workshop of the manufacturer"—In consequence of which, the Legislature instructed him to support the Tariff bill of 1828. Col. Benton says:

"True, that Mr. V. Buren voted for the Tariff of '28, notwithstanding his speech of 1827, but equally true that he voted under instructions from his State Legislature, and in obedience to the great Democratic principle, (*demus, the people—kratos, to govern*), which has always formed a distinguishing feature, and a dividing landmark, between the two great political parties, which, under whatever name, have always existed, and still exist, in our country. Sitting in the chair next to him at the time of that vote, voting as he did, and upon the same principle: Interchanging opinions without reserve or disguise, it comes within the perception of my own senses to know, that he felt great repugnance to the provisions of the Tariff act of '28, and voted for it, as I did, in obedience to a principle which we both held sacred."

In 1832, a meeting was held at the Shocco Springs in North Carolina, to which he addressed a letter containing an exposition of his principles on this subject. In this letter, he says—

"The protective system and its proper adjustment, became a subject of frequent and necessary consideration whilst I formed a part of the Cabinet; and the manner in which the President proposed to carry into effect the policy in relation to imports, recommended in his previous messages, has since been avowed with that frankness which belongs to his character. To this end, he recommended a modification of the Tariff, which should produce a reduction of the revenue to the wants of the Government, and an adjustment

of the duty upon imports, with a view to equal justice in relation to all our national interests, and to the counteraction of foreign policy, so far as it may be injurious to those interests."

"In these sentiments I fully concur; and I have been thus explicit in the statement of them, that there may be no room for misapprehension as to my own views upon the subject. A sincere and faithful application of these principles to our legislation, unworried by private interests or political design; a restriction of the wants of the Government to a simple and economical administration of its affairs—the only administration which is consistent with the purity and stability of the Republican system; a preference in encouragement, given to such manufactures as are essential to the national defence, and its extension to others in proportion as they are adapted to our country, and of which the raw material is produced by ourselves, with a proper respect for the rule which demands that all taxes should be imposed in proportion to the ability and condition of the contributors, would, I am convinced, give ultimate satisfaction to a vast majority of the people of the U. S., and tend to arrest that spirit of discontent, which is now unhappily prevalent, and which threatens such extensive injury to the institutions of our country."

Grant that the President has in one or two instances voted in opposition to the views and interests of the South; some of his bitterest enemies can testify, that John Randolph declared to the assembled voters of Charlotte, that he (Van Buren) was "more of a Virginia politician than any man North of the Potomac, and as much of an anti-Tariff man as he dared to be; in other words, as his constituents would permit him to be."—And it is notorious to every man now conversant with the state of parties and party feeling North of the Potomac, that the principal objection to him in the Northern States, and the only objection that renders his reelection at all doubtful, is, that he is too much of a Virginia politician to suit the views and schemes of the Northern Federalists.

FEDERAL FALSEHOOD No. 10.

They charge, that he was an Abolitionist. Upwards of 5 years ago, Abolition began deeply to excite the country. Mr. Van Buren's opinions were then called for, and he freely gave them. The avowals which he then made were—

"1st. An opinion that Congress has no right to interfere in any manner, or to any extent, with the subject of slavery in the States.

"2d. Against the propriety of their doing so in the District of Columbia, and

"3dly. The statement of my full concurrence in the sentiments expressed by the citizens of Albany in public meeting."

In another letter, written the 6th of March, 1836, he repeats, that "Congress has not the power to interfere in any manner with the question of slavery in the States, and that it would be a violation of the public faith, unwise and inexpedient to do so in the District of Columbia." This, it was insisted, was a surrender of the whole question, and every effort made to prejudice the public against him notwithstanding Mr. Clay and many other Southern gentlemen insisted that Congress had control of the subject under that clause of the Constitution, which gives it "exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever" over the District of Columbia. But although under this broad and sweeping phraseology, Mr. Van Buren declared he should not feel himself safe in pronouncing that Congress did not possess the power of interfering with or abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia; yet he said expressly in the same paragraph:

"I do not hesitate to give it to you as my deliberate and well-considered opinion, that there are objections to the exercise of this power, against the wishes of the slaveholding States, as imperious in their nature and obligations, in regulating the conduct of public men, as the most palpable want of constitutional power would be."

He also solemnly declares, that should he be elected President,

"I must go into the Presidential Chair the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of any attempt on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, against the wishes of the slaveholding States; and also with the determination equally decided, to resist the slightest interference with the subject in the States where it exists."

He afterwards declares that any interference with the question of slavery should be resisted.

"And that it is the sacred duty of those whom the people of the U. S. entrust with the control of its action, so to use the constitutional power which they are invested, as to prevent it."

In addition to this, Mr. Van Buren, as Vice President of the U. S., and President of the Senate, on an equal division of that body (18 to 18) in regard to the bill to prevent the circulation of incendiary pamphlets through the mail, voted with the South. So far from his being an Abolitionist, he even went ahead of Southern men (Mr. Leigh among the number) in vindicating Southern rights and quieting Southern fears. He has lately written a letter, in which he says: "I will veto any bill to abolish slavery in the Territories, without the consent of the slaveholding States."

FEDERAL FALSEHOOD No. 11.

They charge, even now, when it will suit their purpose, that Mr. Van Buren was a U. S. Bank man; or, in other words, that he admitted the power in Congress to incorporate such an institution. This charge is shown to be utterly groundless. [See Holland's Life of Van Buren, page 85, for annexed extract.]

"On the 2d of March, 1809, Mr. Gallatin, then Secretary of the Treasury, recommended the renewal of the charter of the first U. S. Bank. On the 20th February, 1811, after a protracted debate, a vote was taken upon the main question in the Senate of the U. S., and the members were equally divided. Mr. Clinton, then Vice President of the U. S., sealed the fate of the bill by his casting vote against it. This vote was warmly defended and justified by Mr. Van Buren. "Failing in this, an application was made by way of substitute, to the Legislature of New York, to charter a Bank with \$500,000, to be called the Bank of North America. Mr. Van Buren opposed this proposition, and made a powerful speech in a County Convention, against the scheme as Anti-Republican and dangerous. The applicants, however, met with indications of a

disposition in the Legislature to grant the charter, which induced Gov. Tompkins to prorogue that body from March 27 to 21st May—an energetic measure, which received the support of Mr. Van Buren."

Mr. Van Buren was not then in public life, but thus much has been stated to show his early repugnance, not only to a Bank of the U. States, but all manner of Banks. The subjoined extract from his letter to Sherrod Williams, settles the question of constitutional power, and confirms his early repugnance to such an institution:

"In the published opinions to which I have already referred, my opposition to the establishment of a U. States Bank, in any of the States, is placed on the want of constitutional power in Congress to establish one. Those who concur in denying this power, nevertheless differ among themselves in regard to the particular views by which their respective opinions are sustained. Some admit, that Congress has a right to create such an institution, whenever its establishment becomes necessary to the collection, disbursement and preservation of the revenue; but insist, that no such necessity existed when the charter of the old Bank expired, or has arisen since. With this class, the considerations to which you allude would be essential, and might have a controlling effect—for, such persons make the power to establish a Bank dependent upon them. My objection, on the contrary, is, that the Constitution does not give Congress power to erect corporations within the States. This was the main point of Mr. Jefferson's celebrated opinion against the establishment of the first National Bank. It is an objection, which nothing short of an amendment of the Constitution can remove. We know it to be an historical fact, that the Convention refused to confer that power on Congress; and I am opposed to its assumption by it, upon any pretence whatever. If its possession shall at any time become necessary, the only just way to obtain it, is to ask it at the hands of the people, in the form prescribed by the Constitution. Holding this opinion, and sworn to support that instrument as it is, I could not find in the circumstances to which you refer, either warrant or excuse for the exercise of the authority in question; and I am not only unwilling, but desirous, that the people of the U. States should be fully informed of the precise ground I occupy upon this subject. I desire more especially that they should know it now, when an opportunity, the best our form of Government affords, will soon be presented, to express their opinion of its propriety. If they are in favor of a National Bank, as a permanent branch of their institutions; or, if they desire a Chief Magistrate who will consider it his duty to watch the course of events, and give or withhold his assent to such an institution, according to the degree of necessity for it that may in his opinion arise from the considerations to which your question refers, they will see that my co-operation in the promotion of either of these views cannot be expected. If, on the other hand, with this seasonable, explicit and published avowal before them, a majority of the people of the United States shall, nevertheless, bestow upon their suffrages for the office of President, scepticism itself must cease to doubt, and admit their will to be, that there shall not be any Bank of the United States, until the people, in the exercise of their sovereign authority, see fit to give the right to Congress to establish one," &c., &c.

"But, Sir, there are, in my opinion, objections to the re-establishment of a National Bank, of a character not inferior to any that I have stated. The supremacy of the popular will is the foundation of our Government. If we allow it to be prostrated, either by corruption or fraud, the Republican principle which gives life and character to our system, will be broken down. It is only by rigidly and manfully upholding that supremacy on all occasions, that we can hope to resist the perpetual efforts of a spirit which is inherent in all societies—which has never ceased to maintain a powerful foothold in these States, and which is ever at work to subvert those features of our system which place the political rights of the people upon an equal footing. I hold it to be sufficiently certain, that a vast majority of the people of the U. S. were opposed to the late Bank, and are equally opposed to a new one. They have had fearful proofs by overt acts of the correctness of Mr. Jefferson's opinion, that this institution is one of the most deadly hostility existing against the principles and form of our Constitution; and of the reasonableness of his apprehensions, that, 'penetrating by its branches every part of the Union, acting by command and in phalanx, it might, in a critical moment, upset the Government.' To suppose, that the people of this country can ever again consent to place so great a power as that recently wielded by the Bank of the U. S.; a power which could agitate at pleasure the elements of society, and carry terror and embarrassment to every corner of the land, in the hands of any body of men, is to suppose them alike indifferent to the lessons of experience, the calls of interest and the principles of freedom; to have neither the capacity to understand their duty, nor the firmness to carry out their own determinations."

"The re-establishment of the United States Bank would, therefore, under whatever plausible pretence effected, be an infraction of the well-understood will of the people, and a fatal blow to the cause of self-government. So strong are my convictions upon this subject, and so imperative my sense of duty in regard to it, that I cannot conceal from you my surprise, as well as regret, that the idea of accomplishing that object is still, as would seem from your letter, kept on foot in any quarter."

But he applied for a Branch at Albany! Jefferson, Jackson and Barbour made similar applications. The efforts of those who were desirous to connect prominent opponents of such an institution with their applications, was not confined to Mr. Van Buren. Whether they were the result of a suggestion from the Bank, or a calculation of advantages originating with the applicants themselves, is at this time scarce worth inquiring.

Mr. Jefferson, in relation to the Lynchburg application, writing at the request of the applicants, says: "The bearing witness to truth being a common duty, and my residence a considerable part of the year at a possession a few miles from the town, having given me some familiarity with it, I proceed to comply with their request." He then expresses the opinion that the branch would be useful to Lynchburg, and his desire that the applicants might be gratified, "so far as he could permit himself to view the object of desire, independently of the motives which ought to govern its decision."

Gen. Jackson "encloses a memorial, at the request of the citizens of Pensacola," which has been generally signed by the respectable inhabitants of this city," and expresses an opinion, that an institution of that kind, "under judicious direction," might be "convenient to the inhabitants, and also beneficial to the inhabitants."

Mr. Philip P. Barbour "presumed that the direction of the Bank of the U. S. would accord to the people of Virginia trading to Fredericksburg, their reasonable wishes for the establishment of a branch at that place."

Mr. Van Buren's letter was a rich theme for Federal exaggeration, while confined to the archives of the Bank; but Mr. Tyler's report necessarily brought it forth with the rest—and here it is. The position described by Mr. Van Buren in this letter, fourteen years ago, as that which he occupied towards the Bank, is the same by which his whole life has been distinguished.

ALBANY, July 17, 1836.

"Dear Sir—At the instance of a highly respectable portion of the good people of this city, I have signed, and now transmit, the enclosed. Personally, I neither have, nor desire, any connection with Banks; and the sole object of my agency is to gratify the wishes of our citizens, and to promote the interest of the city."

"Of the fitness of the proposed measure, it would be idle in me, who know nothing, to speak to you who know every thing upon the subject. I will, therefore, only say that the applicants are men of the first characters in point of business and credit, and that the present state of the city is that of unexampled prosperity. I shall be happy to hear from you as soon as convenient."

"With great respect and esteem,

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"M. VAN BUREN."

"NICHOLAS BIDDLE, Esq."

There were formerly three other charges, if indeed they could be so called, which the malignant ingenuity of Federalism never failed to press into service as a sort of blind for their shame and hypocrisy, when convicted by the proof of the falsehood of the specifications we have just exposed—These were, that he was a Northern man; a Roman Catholic, and the nominee of Andrew Jackson—mere generalities, incapable of proof, and resorted to only when other charges availed them not.—We are not aware that any but the last is now ever made use of. Gen. Washington, however, in his Farewell Address, cautioned us "never to permit geographical distinctions to influence our political conduct." This objection was the least just, too, because the President had been taken from the South 40 out of the 48 years, and from Virginia 32 out of the 48 that we had existed under the authority of our present Constitution. We have never seen any evidence to support the charge that he was a Roman Catholic. As to his being the nominee of Andrew Jackson, why, of course the Whigs knew all about that. If we mistake not, Mr. Van Buren is much indebted for his present elevation to their own jealousy of his transcendent abilities. When Secretary of State, they nominated him for Vice President, and when Vice, they swore he would be President, and just so it has been. They had the sagacity to perceive his high qualifications, as well as Gen. Jackson. But, to be serious, the Whigs have ever underrated the capacity of the people, and have never failed to ascribe the success of a political rival to some influence other than their own intelligence and sagacity. Hence, the same cry was made against Mr. Madison. Then it was charged by the Federalists of that day, that James the 1st was using the power and patronage of the Government to elect James the 2d. Martin Van Buren was not and is not now the nominee of Andrew Jackson; but of the Republican party met in Convention in the city of Baltimore, in 1835 and 1840.

It was by virtue of such evidence as this, that the people of the United States bestowed their suffrages on Martin Van Buren for their President. It was evidence like this that convinced the South, that duty and principle required her to support his pretensions for that high office. Upon what ground—upon what pretext, can she now withhold her support of his re-election? None—none on earth. If she then felt called on to support his election on the faith of his published opinions and principles, ought she not now to do so, that those principles and opinions have been incorporated in the legislative history of our country? If she could support him on the faith of a pledge, can she not do so when that pledge is redeemed?

NORTH CAROLINA—has, in all probability, elected a Whig Governor, as she did in the summer of 1836.—The Eastern section of the State has done nobly; but the West has flattered and failed us. Yesterday's mail decides the contest. Accounts from Raleigh of the 12th and 14th had left us some faint hopes of success; though we had been warned by the information we had received from various quarters, that she would elect a Whig Governor by a strong force, on account of personal and local considerations; but that this election was no test of the Presidential contest; and that she would carry the Van Buren ticket in the Fall. A letter from Raleigh of the 12th states: "Gen. Saunders comes 1666 votes ahead of his Whig competitor in Hawkin's, Sheppard's, Stanley's, and Bynum's Districts, and to-morrow closes the elections throughout the State. We give to Saunders in addition 1200 in Conner's, 1700 in McKay's, and 500 in Montgomery's (this) District—making a grand total of 5066 with which to combat the heavy majorities that Morehead may receive in Rayner's, Deberry's, Graham's, Fisher's and Williams' Districts."

(The estimate made upon these Districts is not verified.) Indeed, (adds the letter,) there is great cause to fear that we may lose Governor, Commons, and Senate."

EXTRACT FROM

"Raleigh, of the 14th August.

"Martin County has given Saunders 330 majority, overcoming Morehead's majorities in Halifax, Northampton and Bertie by more than one hundred. So much

for Bynum's District, always a debateable ground.

Raynor's District.—Heavy majorities against us in Camden and Hartford—say 600 in all. The contest throughout the State closed yesterday. In this county (Wake) the result is a glorious victory to the Democracy. We may indeed well say so, when it is remembered that Raleigh is the Citadel of the Opposition, when its talents and its energies concentrated for the overthrow of the Democracy.

House of Commons.

Massey, Dem.,	1184	Gales, Whig,	1053
Magnum, do.	1163	Haywood, do.	1017
Rand, do.	1149	Harris, do.	988

Senate.

Whitaker, Dem.,	511	Warren, Whig,	465
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For Governor.

Saunders,	1157	Morehead,	1030
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A letter from Raleigh of the 15th, states, that the returns received that day from Fisher's District, "put an extinguisher upon all our hopes. Fisher's District gives Morehead 3,200 majority over Saunders, and neutralizes all the majorities given or to be given to him, in the East. Deberry's, Graham's and Williams's Districts, will overwhelm Conner's, and Morehead will be elected Governor by a decided majority; and both branches of the Legislature be Whig."

But if our Republican Brethren be beaten, they will not stay beaten. They will rouse themselves, and from all quarters will rush to the rescue. They are now, as we were at our Spring Election, inundated by the humbugs and devices of the Whigs. They will now meet them and dissipate them by the light of truth, the force of eloquence, and the power of the Press. What! will the Old North State abandon the principles of her fathers—the principles of her own immortal Macon—and throw herself into the arms of the Federal Abolition candidate—the protégé of Webster, and the ally of Clay? Will she abandon all her State Rights doctrines, and support a candidate, who will be like clay in the hands of the potter—with Federal Webster as his Secretary of State? Can her slaveholders be guilty of the grossest ingratitude towards Martin Van Buren?—What (says one of her most intelligent sons,) will be the moral effect of this abandonment by the South of their best and firmest friend? It must and will disgust the Northern Democracy, and the consequences cannot but be deleterious to her truest interests. Who has stood by the South during the recent contest? Who has pledged himself to veto any bill, which may touch the subject of slavery?—Martin Van Buren, trumpet-tongued, upon the house-tops. He has on every occasion given the most unqualified pledges to support the Constitution; whilst Gen. Harrison has played the mute; refused to give any public pledges for the public eye; and in his private correspondence, has given different indications to the North and the South. Mr. Van Buren has had the moral courage to come out openly, and defy the Northern Abolitionists, but Gen. Harrison has concealed his opinions for fear of offending some portion of his friends. Look too at their friends. Judge them by the company they keep. Whose votes have enabled the Southern men to defeat the petitions of the Abolitionists?—The friends of Mr. Van Buren in the non-slaveholding States. And whose friends have supported these petitions? Every friend of the Abolition candidate in those States, with the exception of Proffit of Indiana.—Whose friends have too stood by us in their State Legislatures? Martin Van Buren's. Whose friends have stood up for the right of petition in New York—and have passed that obnoxious law, which will hereafter baffle every attempt in the slaveholder of the South to recover his fugitive slaves? It was the Whig Governor and Whig Legislature of New York—the friends of Wm. H. Harrison. Who constitute the Executive Committee at Washington,* which is flooding

the whole country with insidious publications—abusing their privilege of franking—levying money upon Tippecanoe Clubs, upon opulent merchants, and Bank monopolists, (and one of this Committee has declared a few days past, that they wanted \$100,000 more to carry out their plans, and that they would obtain it?) Why cant to us, as Daniel Webster did at Alexandria? Why repeat to us, as John S. Pendleton did, about Ogden Hoffman's declarations—when these very men have always stood ready to throw open the door to the Petitions of the Fanatics, and throw a firebrand into the regions of the South?

We call upon our brethren in North Carolina, therefore, to arouse, and show their noble bearing as they did in the autumn of 1836. Rouse up, and do as Virginia is doing—and as she will do in November next—Save your noble State from the insidious contagion of Whiggery. Save her—save the South, from a King Log candidate, who will have Webster and Clay as his right and his left hands. Dissipate the humbugs with which they are attempting to gull you, fellow-citizens. Address yourselves boldly to the people. Explain the principles of the two parties; the pretensions and qualifications of the two candidates; and show them how the Whigs are attempting to gull an honest people by their contemptible mummeries—what contempt they are throwing upon the understandings of the voters—how they are sapping the foundation of all free government, the capacity of the people to understand their true interests, and to govern themselves—and what will be the condition of all future contests, if this debasement of the high standard of public morals should result in the triumph of its authors—and how every ambitious aspirant, and how every desperate party hereafter will play upon the passions of the people, substitute humbugs for arguments, appeal to the senses instead of the intellect, and corrupt the suffrages of the country by the vilest species of demagoguism.—Of all the parties which have ever arisen in this country, these modern Whigs have done the most to lower the standard of political worth and to insult the people. We call upon you then, Republicans of North Carolina, to arouse, and co-operate with your friends in Virginia, to put down this party, to disappoint their ambitious leaders, to save the principles of the Constitution, and the rights of the South. We call upon our brethren of the Press especially to rouse up all their energies—and turn back the tide of Whiggery, as they so nobly did in the Fall of 1836. We pledge you all our assistance. In the name of the Republicans of Virginia, we call upon you all to plant the North State by the side of the Old Dominion, in November—"freed, regenerated and disenthralled."

Mr. Van Buren during the War.

We lay before our readers the very long and able defence of Mr. Van Buren, which we copy from the Albany Rough-Hewer. It must remove from the mind of every ingenious man any doubts, which may have been produced by the audacious Whig presses, in regard to his support of the war of 1812. Who can read it, and the article we published in our last, without admitting that Mr. Van Buren has been an uniform and ardent supporter of the strongest measures of Jefferson's and Madison's administrations? Never did Mr. N. P. Tallmadge utter a juster tribute, than when he declared in the public meeting at Albany, "No man rendered him (Governor Tompkins) more efficient aid than Mr. Van Buren. In yonder Senate chamber, his eloquence was often heard in favor of providing means and of granting supplies to carry on the war—to feed and clothe our half starved and half clad soldiery, while some of his violent persecutors were openly rejoicing at the defeat of our arms, and secretly imploring success on those of the enemy."

But we are prompted by another consideration in laying this long article before our readers. It is not so much to refute this idle slander about Mr. V. Buren, as to give to our readers an adequate idea of the energy, abilities and services of this distinguished statesman. Some slangwhangers have professed to deny his qualifications, and to disparage the benefits he has rendered to his country. "What has he done?" (they pretend to ask.) "What abilities has he displayed?" Read this Document and he must be a man whose good opinion is of little value indeed, that can longer entertain such prejudice.—Here is a man, at a very early period of his life, and the youngest man, with perhaps one exception, who has ever been in the Senate of New York. He enters that body in November, 1812, in a moment of the greatest excitement, and in the Legislature of the largest and most important and most exposed State in the Union. He has risen from one of the humblest walks of life, amid a crowd of accomplished competitors; amid the Morrises, and Kents, and Spencers, and Clintons of

Mr. Lewis, throw a tremendous responsibility upon Southern Whigs. Their candidate has declared he will veto no bill that Congress may pass; and thus commits us to the tender mercies of the Abolitionists, the first noon that the Whig power is established in Congress. For the Whigs have never yet held legislative power in any free State, in which they have not legislated against Southern rights! Let the South look to this before it be too late. We are standing on a smothered volcano; let us take heed of the hour of eruption."

his State, without any of the adventitious aids of "high birth" or splendid fortune, or of extensive education. No sooner does he enter the Senate, than such is the reputation he has won in private life, by professional abilities and political services, his party place him at once at their van—and nobly does he merit such a proud distinction. He is placed upon the Committee for preparing the Address to the Governor—He prepares the Addresses not only for the Senate, but for the people. He takes the lead in the Committees of Conference between the two Houses—and with an eloquence and a power, which distinguish all his Speeches and Addresses, he contributes more than any other man, to put down the Federal party, to carry both branches of the Legislature and to give Mr. Madison's Administration the full support of the most important State in the Union. With what delight, this victory was hailed by the nation—how much strength it communicated in the management of the war, will sufficiently appear from the article we publish. That victory was followed up by the passage of the strongest measure, which was adopted during the war; the raising of 12,000 troops, by New York, to be placed at the disposition of the General Government. We can never forget the struggle, which was made in our own Legislature, to pass a measure of a corresponding character—nor the interesting debate which it called forth. Who can forget the speech of Robert Stanard, on that celebrated night? Who can forget its powerful appeals, and its surpassing eloquence? Who can forget the eulogy which he passed upon New York, for the prompt and patriotic passage of her Classification Bill? That compliment was in part at least the desert of Martin Van Buren, who originated the measure.

With these occurrences before us, the friends of Mr. Van Buren are prepared to dispute with Gen. Harrison the palm of services which each of them rendered during the war. A passing spouter from S. Carolina lately pretended to burlesque the conduct of the New Yorker—and to contrast Gen. Harrison, steeped in blood on the river Raisin, with his competitor, ambling in a ball-room or dancing a minuet at Albany. But let the parallel be justly made, according to the lights of history, and not according to the visions of a dis-tempered imagination. Gen. H. resigned his military commission, at the most momentous period of the whole war. The Allies entered Paris on the 13th March, 1814—Bonaparte was overthrown, and peace was given to Europe. Those troops, which Great Britain had employed upon the continent, then became available for her war with America—and we all recollect the train of evils which ensued. Her troops were poured in upon us. The Northern frontier was threatened. The Capitol was taken. Her fleets hovered along our shores. Our Territories were invaded at several points. The country was exposed to peril. The Government was without adequate means or men—Where then was General Wm. H. Harrison? On the 14th May 1814, he had resigned his commission. He retired from the army; from a most inadequate cause—and left other soldiers to fight our battles and to save our country. Fortunately, for our glorious destinies, his commission was transferred to Andrew Jackson—the true Hero of the war of 1812.—And where was Martin Van Buren at this time? Struggling in his legitimate sphere—as Jefferson himself would have done in his situation—fighting our enemies in our public councils—aiding them in our largest and most important State—giving support and courage to the General Administration.—As a Correspondent justly remarks:

"At this crisis, N. York stepped forward to raise twelve thousand troops for the common defence, and with a promptness and efficiency that would compass and reach the end in due season, for the next campaign. Of that measure Mr. Van Buren was the leading advocate: he drew the bill, he sustained it in debate, he bore the burden of its responsibility, and he wears 'that laurel in his wreath.' Let justice cast the bandage of party from her eyes, and in estimating the prominent acts, of these prominent men at that period of peril, let her look on this picture and on that. In that dark hour, when need and danger growled over the land, who did most to save the country and to crush the conqueror flushed with new fervor in his European conquests? Was it Gen. Harrison who throw up his commission in the face of the foe? or Mr. Van Buren, whose powers were limited by his sphere for action, but who promptly summoned by State legislation the military energies of that Commonwealth to strengthen and shield the duties and the interests of the Confederacy."

As the Rough-Hewer justly observes, "If Tompkins and Jackson, and the other leading patriots of that day had followed the example of Harrison, it might have given the British and the Hartford Convention Federalists a triumph, at least in one section of the Union."

"The crisis to which we refer is forcibly described in a letter of Governor Tompkins, which was published in 1819. It is as follows:

"In the year 1814, the aspect of public affairs in this quarter of the Union was truly alarming. Our Eastern brethren, blinded by a momentary insatiation of party zeal, not only withheld their support, but threatened a

*This Committee is now using the public facilities at Washington for the purpose of sending off immense quantities of their insidious documents. One of them, Clarke, an Abolitionist, is now at Washington, pouring out their papers, in order to control, among other States, the politics of the Old Dominion. Dixon H. Lewis has just drawn a portrait of this Executive Whig Committee, which is calculated to startle every friend of free government; and much more the Southern people. He says, that they have appointed committees or regular correspondents in every county of every State, through whose hands they circulate the most deceptive documents. Mr. Lewis shows, "that the Whig Central Committee at Washington, which has assumed the supreme executive control of the great Whig Party, is under the control of Abolitionists—that three of its members are out-and-out Abolitionists—and that seven out of the nine (the whole number) voted against the South on the Johnston and Atherton resolutions. Mr. Lewis shows that this Abolition Congressional Committee, assuming to direct the action of the whole Whig party, and having in charge the special duty of electing General Harrison President, has flooded the South with Whig (and God knows how many insurrectionary) documents, in such numbers, that no party could stand the cost, which was not backed by the makers of paper money."

"In addition to this most perfect political organization ever known, except by the same party in the Reign of Terror, this Central Committee has circulated, during the present session, an amount of documents beyond the pecuniary ability of any party, not containing, within its ranks nine-tenths of the makers of paper money."

Mr. Lewis declares, that the Abolition influence is the predominant and controlling influence in the Northern Whig party, and that "when Northern Whiggery shall prostrate Northern Democracy, then is the triumph of Abolition inevitable." These developments, says

serious resistance to the constitutional arm; a well appointed and veteran army, aided by a strong naval force, was pressing upon our Champlain frontier: the Ontario squadron was in danger of attack in Sackett's Harbor from another combined land and naval armament: the lately victorious but now suffering army of Niagara, was pent up in Fort Erie by the British forces in that quarter: the city of New York was menaced with invasion: the capital of the Union was smoking in ruins: and to give the deepest shade to the gloomy aspect of our affairs, and add to the difficulty of their redemption, the National Government was literally penniless.

"At that momentous and trying crisis, I had an opportunity, as you well know, by accepting the Department of State, of retiring from the cares, the labors, the perplexities and responsibilities of the station I then occupied, to one more seducing to ambition, and opening future prospects, which few men in my situation would have hesitated to pursue. But I declined the flattering offer, which was made to me by Mr. Madison, of a seat in the national cabinet and continued in the station where my local experience and associations, enabled me to be most useful to my country."

"At such a time as this, when the patriotic Tompkins declined the office of Secretary of State, offered to him by Mr. Madison, in order to serve his country in a situation where his local experience enabled him to be most useful, Gen. Harrison threw up his commission, and abandoned his country in the time of her utmost need."

At such a time as this, it was, that Martin Van Buren took his stand, exerted his great energies and fine talents in the service of his country—And let parties now rage or writhings abuse him, this grateful country will never forget one of her benefactors.

THE SHOCK OF ARMS!

EXTRACT of a letter from

"Botetourt, August 10, 1840.

"The 'Little Expunger' arrived in Fincastle yesterday evening, and to-day, in the Court Yard, addressed a large assemblage of the people of Botetourt, Bedford, Roanoke and Rockbridge; and was replied to by the amiable, dignified, eloquent, and highly gifted, favorite son of the West, James McDowell of Rockbridge. Mr. Rives, in pursuance of an arrangement, made by a joint committee of both parties, opened the debate, in a speech of two hours, in which he repeated most of the stereotyped slang of the Madisonian, the Whig and the Yeoman, without adding thereto a single original or unhackneyed idea, or touching at all the principles of his candidate. In the course of his remarks he attacked the bankrupt bill, reiterated the oft-refuted calumny that Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Tappan had stated in public speeches that the effects of the Sub-Treasury would be to reduce the price of labor to *eleven pence a day*, and wheat to 16 cents per bushel, when he must have known that both of these gentlemen had publicly denied that they ever made such a statement, and that Mr. Tappan had offered a large reward to any man who would produce a speech of his that ever contained such a declaration.—Mr. McDowell replied in an eloquent, thrilling and masterly manner, in a speech of the same duration, in the course of which he triumphantly defended the Administration and its friends, particularly Mr. Ritchie (whom Mr. Rives had sneeringly pronounced to be the "fugleman" of the party.) Mr. McDowell expressed his astonishment at the ingratitude of Mr. Rives, in attacking Mr. Ritchie, who had been the ablest auxiliary in building up the reputation that the gentleman had acquired. He sustained the Independent Treasury, and carried the war into Africa, by proving conclusively from Mr. Rives's speech of 1834, that he was then in favor of a "SIMPLE SOLID HARD MONEY GOVERNMENT." In the course of his remarks he hinted that Mr. Rives ought not, in the position he occupied, to have dared to denounce the Sub-Treasury System. This roused the ire of the twice-rejected Ex-Senator, and in his rejoinder of an hour and a quarter, he showed by the furiousness of his manner, and the scurrility of his remarks, how deeply he was wounded, and how low a once dignified Senator can descend, when he becomes the *hack* of a party that had formerly doomed him to be daily whipped "*naked around the world, with a whip of scorpions.*" He called General Jackson a roaring and retreating Lion, Mr. Van Buren "A FOX AND A WEAZLE," Amos Kendall "A PAUPER KING," Frank Blair any thing but a handsome man, described the President's whiskers, and roundly asserted that by the force of executive dictation Mr. V. Buren had compelled Congress and the people to give him control of the public money without limitation by law; denounced the "pocket veto," of Gen. Jackson, of his bill to repeal the specie circular; declared, to please his Federal friends, (for which he was loudly cheered by them) that he had never been the "indiscriminate supporter of Gen. Jackson, No, Never! Never! Never!" And to show his courage, he vehemently declared, that he dared do *what any man would dare*. He "*could face the scaly Rhinoceros, the rugged Tiger, the Russian bear,*" and what more do you think he told us he dare do?—He dare ABUSE THE SUB-

TREASURY, and yet it was shrewdly suspected by some of our friends who noticed his swaggering, that he was afraid to meet our friend "Extra Billy Smith," ever since the currying he gave him at Madison Court-house, or he would not have dodged him at Charlottesville on the 3d inst. He denounced the Extra Globe, and threw it contemptuously at his feet, declaring that he would not condescend to touch such a polluted sheet, although he had read some paragraphs from the great Globe in his opening speech against the Sub-Treasury scheme, and "*mirabile dictu*," he asked Mr. McDowell a short time afterwards for the very Extra Globe that he had promised never to touch, and had hurled so contemptuously from him a few minutes before. Mr. McDowell again replied, and gave him the most genteel exhortation that he ever received. While he painted his ingratitude and inconsistencies in such glaring colors, that those who "run might read" them, he (McD.) was repeatedly interrupted by the cry of "USE HIM UP," "USE HIM UP," from the Democratic part of his audience, so enormous did his manifold offences appear in their eyes when properly exposed by Mr. McDowell. Mr. Rives again rejoined for fifteen minutes; but he had lost his temper, and had to resort to vulgar personalities respecting Mr. Ritchie and Mr. McDowell, for which he was loudly applauded by some forty or fifty Feds from other counties, and a few of their brother Feds of Botetourt, and which excited nothing but indignation and disgust in the bosom of every Democratic Republican present.—Mr. McDowell closed in a very neat and forcible appeal to the freemen who heard him, to rally to the support of the truly Republican Chief who is now at the head of the Government, every word of which sank deep into the heart of every Republican who heard him, and when contrasted with the low slang of the renegade Rives, placed our champion immeasurably above the Little Apostate Expunger.—The present Republican party of Botetourt, is now sound to the core. The Conservatives are so completely unmasked and used up by their own Address of 1836, that they are now the most harmless creatures we have to contend with. The young and talented Letcher of Rockbridge has met twice, within the last ten days, at Newcastle, and at Barksdale's Forge, a brace of their Champions, and has each time triumphantly discomfited both of them, aided by Col. Wilson, at the latter place. In truth, he is more than a match for the whole Federal and Conservative covey."

Extract of a letter from Buckingham, August 14.

"I do not intend to make any further declarations for the public eye, but will merely add, for your eye, that Monday last was a proud day for Old Buck. General Gordon, Col. Randolph, Wm. Daniel and Mr. Hoge, chained the attention of the people for about eight hours; and I make no idle Whig boast, when I say, that their speeches added an impulse to the spirit of Democracy, which will tell on the first Monday in November. Indeed, I have never seen the people more thoroughly aroused, and interested in the contest—and well they may be, for there never was a time when the occasion more demanded a universal rally to the rescue, than the present. Buckingham is safe at all events."

"LEXINGTON, Va., Aug. 13.

"Dear sir: I was in Fincastle on Monday last, and heard the speech of the 'Little Expunger,' and a more pitiful and disgusting tirade of low abuse, I never heard from any quarter, high or low. He spoke of Van Buren as a 'weasel,' 'fox,' &c. Made a fling at Roane, abused Kendall, 'Frank Blair,' and yourself; spoke of the Sub-treasury, the Bankrupt Law, Van Buren's opposition to the 'late war,' the 'standing army,' as he called Poinsett's militia plan, and closed with an extravagant eulogium of Harrison, and his qualifications for the Presidency, taking especial pains, to 'keep dark' about his 'principles.'"

"Mr. McDowell's reply was dignified, able and eloquent, just such in all respects as his friends desired.—He replied most successfully to all his objections to the Administration, and then carried the war home upon him, and his certificate hereo."

A letter from Columbus, Georgia, of the 10th inst., states, that Mr. Van Buren will carry the State by 5,000.—We have no doubt of it.

Let the Whigs crow as they will.—Let the horrid braggars of the towns, who run away with every thing, boast that they will carry Harrison with ease.—One thing we promise them, that if they do carry North Carolina, they will not drag the Old Dominion into their toils. Our friends are up. We will redeem Virginia. All our accounts from every section of the State continue most cheering. Every where our Champions are now battling in the cause. McDowell is prostrating Rives—John W. Jones has discomfited the three slanghangers from this side—Holladay has unhorsed Garland in Fluvanna—Wm. Daniel of Lynchburg, Letcher, Grigsby, Tallaferra of Franklin, the young and gallant knights of our own city, &c., &c., are coming to the rescue, along with our other champions. Onward, friends! Put down that *Humbag Party*. They disgrace the present enlightened age—and let them stand a bye-word and a scorn to all posterity—with their log cabins and hard cider, and gourd and coon skins—and their standing army humbug, and their Census humbug, and their foul-mouthed Ogile speech, and their Hoo-hum-bug. Let those, who presuppose the gullibility of the People, as unfit to judge and govern for themselves—let those who cast disgrace upon the People by such a course, such a supposition, be themselves disgraced.

ELECTIONS.

We have no room for the details of the Elections, which have agitated all the politicians for the last week. We must content ourselves with results: We have carried Alabama, Illinois and Missouri by sweeping popular majorities.—We have lost Kentucky, Indiana, and N. Carolina.

Alabama.—We have lost several votes in the Legislature—but we retain a *five* majority on joint ballot. So says the last Montgomery Advertiser Extra. There is nothing in the Mobile Advertiser of the 11th, (Whig,) which reached us by yesterday's mail, except that the Mobile paper claims Jefferson county; but the Girard (Ala.) Register of the 11th (also Whig) yields us in Jefferson county two Democrats, viz: McWilliams and Randolph.—The popular vote is increased for the Democrats since 1836. In 30 counties alone, our *net* gain is 840. At this rate, Mr. V. Buren will carry the State by 6,000 majority!

The Huntsville Democrat of the 8th inst. says:—"The opinion prevails that no Whig has been elected to the Legislature this side of Tuscaloosa. In Franklin, Lauderdale, and Lawrence, where the Whigs boasted of their superior strength, they have been badly if not shamefully beaten; indeed, the Democratic majorities are overwhelming in every direction. In Madison, Jackson, and Marshall, the Whigs presented no ticket; and out of 5,000, supposed to be about the aggregate vote of these three counties, they will not be able to carry more than 400 votes for Harrison. This is the first time for many years that the Democracy of North Alabama have been aroused—and even now they would have remained in comparative lethargy, but for the recent exertions of the hard cider, hog cabin, and coon missionaries and orators who have traversed the country and labored incessantly to prove that the imbecile Federal Whig candidate for the Presidency should be preferred to the eminent statesman who now presides at the head of this Government."—(Thanks to the log cabin men! The Whigs will reap in November next, in Old Virginia, the whirlwind of that disgraced humbug, founded on their sovereign contempt for the understandings of the People. They will show them in November next, in Virginia above all the States, that they are not so gullible as these Whigs suppose them to be!) Mark! these three powerful counties of Alabama, (viz: Madison, Jackson and Marshall,) are not embraced in the 20 counties calculated above.

Missouri.—The Whigs are swept as with a whirlwind. The St. Louis Argus of the 7th says:—"Every where a victory for the Democracy. So far as heard from in Missouri, we have reversed the Federal majority in four of their strongest counties. Washington, Jefferson, Warren, and old Pike have elected full Democratic delegations. The Federal majorities have in each of their strong holds been reduced, and in the Democratic counties our majorities have as uniformly increased."—The Argus of the 8th teems with new victories. There too the Whigs tried the virtues of log cabins and coon skins—but the people turned upon them with scorn. In Pike county on the Mississippi river they had a great "log raisin," and for the first time for 20 years we have carried the whole delegation. Just so with the log cabin in Warren county, where the Democrats have gained decidedly upon their opponents.

ILLINOIS.—Another Whirlwind!—The Illinois Register of the 6th, says:—"The people have spoken, and Democracy is triumphant. Sufficient returns have been received to render it certain that the Democratic party has decided majorities in both branches of the Legislature, and an immense majority in the popular vote. The noble South has come up in one broad phalanx. With the exception of Madison, we have swept the entire South, from the borders of Sangamon, to the mouth of the Ohio. In 1838, we elected our Governor by a majority of about 1,000, and in the 33 counties heard from out of 87, we have gained at least 2,000 votes since the Governor's election." The Democrats have carried counties which they have scarcely dreamt of before. From the tables of returns before us, it appears, there has been an immense gain for the Democrats, in the popular vote, as well as a Democratic gain among the members of the Legislature.—Illinois is safe by thousands, for Van Buren.—And we already hear of its salutary effects on Michigan.

INDIANA.—The Whigs have carried it by a large majority. In 69 counties, according to the "Spirit of '76," published at Indianapolis, Bigger's majority is 11,720. The Whigs have elected in the Lower House 69 members. The Democrats 14. In the Senate, the Whigs have 15 members. The Democrats 2. There are 87 counties in Indiana, which gave a majority of 8,803 for Harrison in the Presidential election of 1836, in a popular vote of 73,759.

KENTUCKY.—Returns are decisive for the Whigs. There is no mistake about it. The N. Intelligencer claims for R. P. Letcher as Governor a majority of 17,750 in 69 counties.

NORTH CAROLINA.—The Raleigh Register of Tuesday gives the votes of 40 counties—giving 5,334 majority to Morehead, (Whig candidate for Governor).—Add to these, Pasquotank and Perquimans, and it makes Morehead's majority 6,748. Take off our majorities in Martin and Gates counties, about 245, and M.'s majority is about 6,503. The Register predicts that his majority will reach 8 or 10,000.—But such is not our opinion. There are 19 counties to be heard from, of which, 14 counties were Republican counties in 1836, and 5 Federal. (3 of these were very strong; but 3 of the Republican counties were also strong.)—These gave a majority to Spaight (Rep.) of 1170. This may prevent Morehead's present majority from increasing—or may even reduce it. The Whigs have also carried a decided majority in the Legislature.

The Election for Governor is certainly no test. We never counted upon the election of Saunders. We were warned against any such calculation. Saunders, though much the ablest man, is not so well known and popular as Morehead—and he lives in the East; and Morehead further in the West. We will not abandon North Carolina. In the summer of 1836, Dudley (Whig) was elected Governor over Spaight by a majority of 4379.—But in the Fall, our friends rallied and carried Van Buren by a majority of between 2 and 3000. What was done in 1836, will probably be done again. Our friends in North Carolina have also labored under many disadvantages. They are now in the season of Whig humbugs, as we were in April last. We have nearly passed through it; and so will they there.—Courage, friends! Arouse yourselves and go to work like men.—Form Democratic Associations over the State. Scatter light. Distribute Speeches. Counteract the insidious operations of the Whig Executive Committee at Washington. Hold a General State Convention forthwith. Arm to the teeth, and organize your party for the great battle. Let your press, your orators, every Republican meet the enemy with the vigor which becomes your great cause. Save North Carolina from the disgrace of being the only State in the South which will vote for a Federal and Abolition candidate. You owe it to the Union, to the South, to yourselves. To arms! to arms! instantly—and never cease till you plant the North State along side of the Old Dominion.

Out at last!—The last Globe contains those remarkable and thrilling letters, which have been addressed by the gallant Croghan, the Hero of Sandusky, to Gen. Harrison. There is high matter in them—and the *Veiled Prophet* must now speak out and clear his skirts from Croghan's charges.—The General may play *new* to the People.—He may hide his principles like the *Veiled Prophet*—but when a Fellow-soldier speaks in this guise, even a Confidential Committee cannot screen him from a reply.

Important!—The City of Mexico was the scene of another Revolution on the 15th July. It declared itself for the Federalists, who are commanded by General Urrea.—The President was taken prisoner, in the act of leaving his palace. Some fighting in the streets.